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当代人类安全与伊斯兰原教旨主义

**Human Security and Fundamental Islam In
A Modern Age**

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摘 要

自 2001 年 9 月 11 日以来, 关于国际关系与人类安全问题, 大都集中于对伊斯兰教教义的讨论。面对伊斯兰原教旨主义的复兴, 如何解读伊斯兰教教义, 诚实而透彻地理解伊斯兰教教义所传达的思想, 当前显得尤为迫切与重要。伊斯兰原教旨主义文献, 体现了一些与自由时代大众对于人类安全迥然不同的观点, 突出表现在个人安全与政治安全方面等内容。这些巨大的差异源于伊斯兰教先知穆罕默德的事迹, 记录伊斯兰教神圣起源的《古兰经》, 以及由伊斯兰教中品德高尚、受人信赖的学者们记录的史料。本文探讨人类安全、个人安全与政治安全的关系, 分析伊斯兰基本教义中对人类安全的认识, 阐述伊斯兰原教旨主义中对人类安全的理解, 以及与自由时代大众对于人类安全的理解之间的鸿沟, 揭露伊斯兰教原教旨主义对女性和非穆斯林人构成的危害, 及其可能带来的战争威胁等必须即刻关注的内容。

关键词: 伊斯兰原教旨主义, 人类安全, 国际关系

Abstract

Since September 11, 2001 discussions regarding international relations and security have largely been focused on the religion of Islam. In the midst of a fundamental revival within the religion, the need for an honest and thorough understanding of the ideas expressed by fundamental Islam has never been more important. A fundamental reading of the Islamic literature reveals several discrepancies between secular liberal understandings of human security, especially with aspects of personal and political security. These extreme differences are displayed in the examples set by the Islamic prophet Muhammad, the Qur'an as a text of divine origin, and historic sources recorded by qualified and trusted scholars of Islam. This paper will show how an analysis of these two aspects of human security with fundamental Islam displays the substantial difference between secular liberal understandings of human security, in terms of personal and political security, and ideas of human security in fundamental Islam. An analysis using internationally defined ideas of human security will reveal that fundamental Islam poses serious threats to women, non-Muslim individuals and from threats of war that require immediate attention.

Key Words: Fundamental Islam; Human Security; International Relations

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background (Motivation)

On the cool morning of September 11, 2001 I remember standing in our family's living room with one running shoe on, the other grasped firmly in my hand, staring at the television completely captivated by what I was seeing. Having been raised Muslim by my deeply religious father I was very confused as to why a religion that claims to be peaceful could allow for such unabashed violence. The footage of two planes catapulting into the World Trade Center buildings in New York flipped a switch in my mind, one that made me reconsider Islam's role in the world. As I went for a run that morning with our school's cross country running team, I could only keep thinking to myself how Muslims would *never* commit such evil deeds. It was this way of thinking that eventually lead me to be a strong believer in the conspiracy theories that sprang up after 9/11, and inspired me to spend significant time researching and learning how to defend Islam for the criticism it was beginning to receive.

After many years passed, and I was in my third year of university, my faith and ideas began to change. As my interests shifted to eastern ideas of philosophy, such as Buddhism, meditation and compassion training, my eyes were opened to the differences that exist between the many world religions. The differences I noticed were in the basic ideas people of different religions have about the meaning of life, how individuals should live their lives, and even views on basic human rights. It was when I began considering these ideas that I was compelled to go back and restudy Islam from a very different point of view. I soon found myself rereading the Qur'an and at the same time paying close attention to the vocabulary

used, ideas propagated, and even stories bound inside it. It was this new way of thinking that enabled me to recall and reinterpret the religious teachings passed down to me when I was a child and reminded me of the fear that was instilled in me after each reading of the Qur'an.

1.2 Literature Review

One of the most intriguing and captivating phenomena since the turn of the millennium has been the increasingly important role of religion in international relations. With the 9/11 attacks sending a violent ripple of fear throughout the world, the evolving relationship between religion and international relations gave birth to discussions regarding the religion of Islam, whose recent discourse has been dominated by concerns of security. The result has been a new urgency in understanding the implications of a rising fundamentalism (sometimes referred to as "extremism" or "revival") within the religion of Islam and the compatibility of fundamental Islam with secular liberal ideas of security. (Seiple, 2004, p. 2)

In the field of international relations and international politics, some of the world's greatest leaders have voiced their opinions with regard to what the religion of Islam represents, and more importantly, what *ideas* it holds. United States president Barack Obama and former United States president George W. Bush, both non-Muslims, are contenders on one side of the debate arguing the religion of Islam is a religion of peace, by making statements such as "Islam is a religion that preaches peace," and "Islam is peace", respectively. (Salam, 2015) Both presidents have publicly stated that there is no war against Islam, but rather those who have perverted the fundamentals of the religion. (2015) Former prime Minister of Malaysia Mahathir bin Mohamad, (Chi, 2014) UK Home Secretary Theresa May, (Murray, 2014) and prominent religious historian Karen Armstrong,

(Armstrong, 2015) as well as many others, have made similar statements and have professed Islam is a benign religion whose main message preaches peace. In addition, many notable Muslims have made the point that violence associated with Islam is often associated with misunderstanding of Islamic doctrine. They also maintain Islam is a peaceful and benign religion.

However, opponents to this argument make the case that Islam is inherently violent and a fundamental, or literal, reading of the Qur'an and hadith will implicitly encourage violence, violates human rights, and challenges many well-established western values. Sam Harris, a notable neuroscientist and New York Times best-selling author, states "there is a religion of peace in this world, but it's not Islam." (Harris, 2011) He, along with other notable critics of religion, such as Richard Dawkins, Daniel Dennett and Christopher Hitchens believe that Islam has historically, and in its present form still remains a religion that at its most fundamental and literal understanding threatens security. (Timonen, "The Four Horsemen", 2007) Sam Harris goes so far as to say "the only problem with fundamental Islam is the fundamentals of Islam." (Harris, 2011) Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a Somali born critic of Islam and former Muslim herself argues that violence is deeply rooted within Islam and that it is a "destructive, nihilistic cult of death", and goes on to say that Islam even legitimates murder. (Cohen, 2007)

According to the Global Terrorism Index's 2014 report, four terrorist organizations, ISIL, Boko Haram, the Taliban and al-Qa'ida, all of which adhere to fundamental understandings of Islam, claimed 66% of the claimed deaths that were associated with terrorist attacks in 2013. (p. 2) With the rise of religious terrorism starkly increasing since the

year 2000, the discussion regarding fundamental Islam's core teachings and idea of what constitutes human security are more important than ever. (Global Terrorism Index, p. 2) As international relations is an interdisciplinary field of study focused on making sense of how relations between states, governments, societies and even non-state actors is constructed, it offers the best methods of analyzing religion's impact on mainstream secular liberal understandings of security.

The scope and aim of human security is of particular importance in the discussion of religion and international relations and is especially crucial to understanding fundamental Islam's place in this dialogue. Human security as defined by the United Nations is focused on "protect[ing] the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment." (Human Security in Theory and Practice, 2009, p. 5) Essential to this secular liberal understanding of human security is the idea that human security includes *all* humans. The United Nations' definition of human security offers a dynamic and universally applicable "broad and flexible" framework that is focused on solving problems of human security that affect people from all over the world. (p. 6) Tantamount to the understanding of human security is that "human security underscores the universality and primacy of a set of rights and freedoms that are fundamental for human life...[and] makes no distinction between different kinds of human rights." (p. 12) That is to say, human security does not discriminate but rather takes the position that these fundamental human rights and necessities cannot be divided by certain characteristics associated with individuals, such as race, religion, sex, etc.

Fundamental Islam in many instances maintains a different understanding of human security that can vary depending on the religion, sex and status of an individual. As Islam is a

religious ideology that concentrates heavily on the religious worship of Allah, its main focus is therefore on the adherence to Islamic literature and the example of the prophet Muhammad as a means of understanding the world, rather than offering a similarly dynamic and universal understanding of human security that is able to change and progress with human civilization. This idea has been made quite clear in the Cairo Declaration of Human Rights that was adopted in 1990 that offers an Islamic perspective of human rights, which on many levels differs from the broadly accepted definition of human security defined by the United Nations. Additionally, the fundamental Islamic literature provides a multitude of examples that make distinct differences in the rights associated to individuals of a certain sex, religion and/or piousness. As a result, fundamental Islam's alternative understanding of modern day human security poses potential threats to aspects of personal and political security when compared to the modern day secular liberal perception of human security.

Currently, the field of international relations is lacking a detailed account of how *a religion* can affect aspects of security. Researchers and observers would benefit from striving to treat religion as a complex, intricate mix of ideas that individuals and societies hold, and thus focus on discussing each religion's inclusion to theory separately. It is at this point in the discussion that international relations needs to make great efforts to understand how the ideas of fundamental Islam may pose potential challenges to secular western liberalism, and more specifically in terms of human security. The debate regarding what a fundamental reading of Islam truly represents requires an analysis through the lens of international relations theory to thoroughly understand potential security risks.

1.3 Overview of this Thesis

It is of paramount importance that readers of this thesis are able to clearly distinguish the difference in meaning between “Islam” and “Muslims”. Islam, by definition, is one of the three Abrahamic religions and was founded in the Arabian Peninsula in the 7th Century AD. Currently there are more than one and half billion Muslims worldwide, particularly in parts of Asia, North Africa and the Middle East. The ritual observances and moral code of Islam were presented through many sets of revelations directly to the prophet Muhammad, which were then organized to produce the Qur’an. In Islam the prophet Muhammad is highly revered and seen by followers of Islam as possessing all virtues, which represent the highest ideal for human conduct, and is the supreme example of what is considered a perfect Muslim in the eyes of Allah. (Qur’an 33:21, 1994, p. 647) According to the Qur’an, Muhammad is so revered within the religion of Islam that whoever obeys the messenger obeys Allah, and vice versa¹. The adherents of Islam regard their religion as the last of the revealed religions, and Muhammad is deemed the last of God’s prophets, building on and perfecting the examples and teachings of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Islam is articulated by the Qur’an, the Islamic holy book, and is considered by its adherents to be the verbatim word of God (Allah). In addition to the Qur’an, there is also significant reference and use of the Sunnah² and Sira³.

¹ Qur’an 4:80 states: He who obeys the Messenger (Muhammad), has indeed obeyed Allah, but he who turns away, then we have not sent you (O Muhammad) as a watcher over them. *Sahih Al-Bukhari*, Vol. 9, hadith No. 384 states: Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah’s Messenger said, “All my followers will enter Paradise except those who refuse...Whoever obeys me will enter Paradise, and whoever disobeys me is the one who refuses (to enter it).”

² The Sunnah are the traditions (called hadith) associated with the prophet Muhammad that are accessed through hadith collections, that have been narrated by the many companions and students of the prophet Muhammad. Communicated through these hadith narrations, the Sunnah, has undergone a process of authentication that substantiates their validity. The Sunnah presents the normative way of life for Muslims that are based on the practices and teachings of the prophet Muhammad and certain interpretations of the Qur’an. The word Sunnah literally translates as a clear and well-trodden path. (Quran 3:164, 33:21)

³ The Sira is the life story of the prophet Muhammad that reaches adherents through traditional biographies of Muhammad from which a multitude of historical information regarding early Islam and the prophet’s life are derived. These books are written by both early and contemporary historians.

Muslim, by definition, is someone that follows the religion of Islam. These individuals come from all over the world, and even within the religion may hold very different views as to what represents a “true” Muslim. It should be noted that individuals who call themselves Muslim do not always represent Islam. This thesis will therefore focus on the ideologies within the literary works of Islam and how certain ideologies may pose challenges to secular liberal ideas of security, rather than profess these ideas are what any or all Muslims believe. However, this thesis will make use of relevant studies to show how some of these ideas have made appearances in modern times.

In approaching the rather difficult issue of interpreting Islam as a religious ideology within the context of international relations theory, this thesis will be taking a constructivist view of international relations to examine how *ideas* within the religion of Islam can pose potential security challenges. The concept of identity is of particular importance to constructivist theory in that it informs us who the actors may be, allows us to understand their preferences and interests, and ultimately how those preferences might inform their actions. To thoroughly understand how ideas within the religion of Islam may influence the actions of actors and help create aspects of their identity, this thesis will be examining ideas within Islam and comparing those ideas to secular liberal understandings of security. It is the goal of this thesis to offer a new starting point in the discourse of the rather broad subject of religion and international relations and stimulate conversations regarding individual religions, so as to provide a more critical study of their specific challenges to aspects of security and secular Western liberalism.

As for Islamic literature, this thesis will be using the English translated version of the

Qur'an, by Dr. Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din Al-Hilan and Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan as a means of Quranic reference. The Sunnah, Sira and certain tafsir⁴ will also be referenced to provide clarity, background information and for exemplification.

The next section will give a brief introduction to the religion of Islam and the rise of fundamentalism that is taking place within the religion. This will inform the reader what fundamental Islam means and provide background information necessary to understanding the concept of a rise of fundamental Islam. The following two sections will then examine ideas within the Qur'an that pose potential human security threats and evaluate these ideas in reference to the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) 1994 Human Development Report's (HDR) definition of human security. This thesis will be utilizing two of the seven main categories of human security described in the 1994 HDR as a means of reference when comparing ideas that may pose security challenges.

⁴ (Arabic: تفسير, translit.: Tafsīr, Meaning: interpretation) is the Arabic word for exegesis (critical explanation or interpretation of a text, especially of scripture), usually of the Qur'an.

Chapter 2 The Rise of Fundamental Islam

In contemporary history, the rise of present day Islamic fundamentalism, sometimes referred to as Islamic revival, is generally thought to have begun in the early 1970s set in motion by the 1973 Arab oil embargo that caused global oil prices to quadruple and the 1979 Iranian Revolution that established an Islamic republic in the country of Iran under Ayatollah Khomeini. The Arab oil embargo generated a flow of billions of dollars from Saudi Arabia that funded Islamic books, scholarships, fellowships, and mosques around the world, while ultimately encouraging a virtuous Islamic civilization as a deterrent to the corrupting influence of the West. (Haddad, 1991, pp. 24-25) This enabled Saudi Arabia's fundamental, conservative Wahhabite faction "to attain a preeminent position of strength in the global expression of Islam." (Kepel, 2006, p. 51) Six years later, the 1979 Iranian Revolution replaced a "pro-Western semi-absolute monarchy with an anti-Western authoritarian theocracy" that challenged the assumption that a Western liberal way of life benefited Muslim majority countries and was an inescapable trend of the future. (Milani, 2012, p. vi) Challenging, and perhaps to some changing, the image of Islam in the non-Muslim world, Iran took it upon itself to stand as a symbol of revolution and did so under the slogan "neither East nor West, only an Islamic Republic" and simultaneously demanded the deposition of "capitalism, American influence, and social injustice in the Middle East and the rest of the world". (Haynes, 2008, p. 92)

Over the past four decades the core message of modern day Islamic fundamentalism has been focused on returning to the pure fundamentals of the Islamic religion, with this type of revival occurring throughout Islamic history and the Islamic world periodically. (Haddad,

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